

Plaine English:

OR,

A DISCOVERSE

CONCERNING

THE ACCOMMODATION,

The Armie,

The Association.

Si populus vult decipi, decipiatur.



Printed, (unlesse men be more carefull, and God
the more mercifull) the last of Liberty, 1643.

942

Plaine English :



E that desires and promotes not an honest and honourable peace, let him suffer under the danger and confusion of a Civil winter war : He that would seek or accept peace upon unsafe and unworthie termes, let him have it ; I can wish him no greater mitchief.

It is a mutuall complaint in the world, that some are all for peace, others wholly for war : I am for neither, and yet for both ; I alwayes loved peace well, but better now then ever : upon a just cause and calling I can scorne the dangr of war, but the sin and confusion of an Armie I hate ; I love peace so well, that I can endure war to accomplish it ; and I think I love it better, I am sure I love a better peace then they that can abide the thought of nothing else, though they enjoy nothing else ; they would have a truce, I love a peace.

I love peace as my health, war I cannot say I love, but use it as Physick : were not health very sweet, pills would bee verie bitter, there is no such pleasure in bloud letting. I look to peace as my end, I look upon warre as the unhappie ; yet not alwayes, yet not now the unjust meanes to procure it ; I cannot bee in the opinion of them who think happinesse inconsistent with war, and inseparable from peace : where God is, there is happinesse, he is the Lord of Hostes, the God of peace.

To come nearer, We have found it not impossible to be miserable under the Motto of *Beati Pacifici* ; if it be miserie, as indeed it is, to see our neighbours and friends wasted, and the foundation of our own ruine laid. This war is the fruit of peace, Peace may be the fruit of this war : I dare undertake to make good one, the God of heaven make good the other.

It was peace with our spirituall enemies, with our sins, with our superstitious Idolatries, Sabbath-breakings, it was peace with our outward both forraigne and intestine enemies, Spain and its faction, that we may both in a religious and reasonable way conclude, have brought us to this passe. God may justlie let those counsels that have wrought our neighbours miserie work our own.

And here let me take leave in this freedome of speaking, to give an account of my thoughts concerning the things upon which these troubles now move : Because I find many at a stand, admiring how we are come to the height of calamitie : Wee look upon the hand that moves, and heare the hammer that strikes, and tels us we are at the evening of our unsound peace, and that wee are

are in danger to passe a midnight before we shal see a better & clearer morning of truth and peace arise upon us springing from on high. But there are very few that look upon the wheels and springs, the weights and lines, which move and act the things we see and hear.

For my part I am very far from a Statelman, my years will not allow me experience, my parts insight, my calling leisure, nor my acquaintance intelligence, all which are necessarie thereto. But I never yet shut mine eyes to light, nor my ears to truth, I have not beene indiligent in observing and comparing the actions and proceedings of men, I have desired as a man to know, as another man to know newes, as a Christian man to know and consider the present and probable state of the Church of God, and the account I have given my self, is this :

I look upon a grand designe of the Jesuites and their faction as the great Wheele moving to and in this businesse. He that knowes any thing of the christian world must know something of the antichristian, and in that of the masters of the faction the Jesuites, which are a *Compendium* of the Romish Religion, in which, and in whom, besides Idolatry and superstition, are met pride, subtiltie, and cruelty. It hath been not unjustly suspected that there hath been a designe of these masters of Religion, or rather rebellion to which they have been moved by the weights of intollerable pride and misguided zeale, to reduce as much of the world as they can comprehend in their vast thoughts, to the Monarchie of Spain and the supremacy of Rome. And to this purpose they have been indefatigable in their endeavours in all Countries and of all kindes. It concernes not this present businesse much for me to observe what they have attempted, and how farre they have prevailed in other countries: though it deserves our notice to consider how farre they have proceeded in Germanie: what seeds they have sowne in France and Holland it selfe, notwithstanding its professed detestation of them and vigilancy against them; even such as wee may justly suspect may grow up the next spring and set all Christendome in a confusion, and make the world a fit shop for these sons of perdition to worke in.

But let us a little more fully view their proceedings toward us, where at first wee discern an earnest and not groundlesse desire of reducing us among the first, as knowing England would be a rich Diamond in a Crown or Mitre, and as advantagious to their honour, power and riches, as any other. The severall attempts in the time of our glorious Queene *Elizabeth* are sufficient attestations of this designe and desire: They saw it impossible to worke upon her in regard of her averfenesse to their Nation and Religion, they beganne to work against her both, her person and her kingdome: Hee that knowes any thing, knowes and acknowledges the many deliverances God vouchsafed her, and this Kingdome in her, from a continued succession of Treasons, and Assassinations; Their severall machinations against her Kingdome, especially

cially that grand one of 88. are equally knowne, and when they saw it unlikely to prevail here, they endeavour to weaken and vex her with rebellions in Ireland; an old Play new acted. After this sun was set, they hoped for a succession of thick darknesse by interrupting the lawfull succession of one whom they could not so well bee assured of, though some say they attempted him, and prevailed far enough: That could not be done, they are put to an after-game, which they play first desperately, in the Powder-treason, then subtilly, as may hereafter appeare. They began to be wearie of violent attempts, and discerned a nature in his Majesty which they could make a good advantage of, peaceable and fearfull, willing quietly to enjoy that addition of power and revenue he had attained. They let him bee quiet, provided that he would quietly see and suffer the Protestant Churches of Germany to be spoiled and wasted, which I am sorrie to say he did, through the disadvantage of his nature and Counsels, though hee was a man in point of judgement right against Popery. But they could easily allow him that, let him dispute and play at Ticktack with *Bellarmino* at his leisure, provided they could destroy the Palatinate, and get more another way. It was doubtlesse suggested to him an attempt to be absolute, that by catching at more, he might indanger all; its like he might well enough digest the thought, but not the meanes so full of danger and hazard: Therefore left that work for others of more forwardnesse, and lesse fore-sight. The plot and circumstances of the Spanish Match, some of which are printed, shew how farre they had prevailed, and what hopes they had. To come to his now Majesties reigne, of which I shall speak as tenderly and as truly as I can. The same designe hath still been doubtlesse driven; Its true, in a Match wee changd *Spaine* for *France*, *Column non animum*, as it falls out. The two great workes they have endeavoured have beene upon our Religion and our Liberties, to blinde our eyes by superstition and ignorance, to binde our hands by oppression and slavery, that they might lead us or carrie us any whither. The first they looked at as the end, the second as the meanes: In all places a temporall tyrannie is a great step to Ecclesiasticall; and especiallie in our Kingdom, where our Religion is fenced in with positive Law, they must breake this hedge before they can spoil the Vineyard: but he that breakes this hedge a Serpent shall bite him. And truly they had made a mischievous progresse, they had gotten instruments for their turne in Church and State, three or foure especiallie. who indeed moved all; One in Church of a right Antichristian spirit, insufferable insolent, more cruell then subtil, through the violence of his passion, a man delighting in the blood of soules: In the State two or three, one of strong parts, and a spirit fit for a great Turke; another or two mischievouslie subtile, and a thorough Spanish die. They had observed all the rules that the Jesuite gives for reducing a Protestant State, as in a Sermon preached this late 5 of Novemb. is more exactly declared. They had procured

cured the discontinuance of Parliaments and made themselves and their instruments incapable of account, but to one whom they had so farre seduced as to like it well enough. They had brought us a great way in a still march, and had drawne us further, had not the Conductours mistook their way, and led us too farre North-ward, which hath set them some yeares backward, if not spoild the plot. Here they kindled a fire which they knew not how to quench, and so they resolved to encrease it, though they burnt their fingers. When they saw it impossible to avoid a Parliament, they thought to delude it; this was the attempt upon the first Parliament; when that could not be done, they dissolved it, and went about to delude the people, with a promise to right grievances out of Parliament as much as in it; which how well kept let any man call up his two years memorie; that promise was not a promise, but a prophesie of more such promises; which prophesie hath been fulfilled though the promises have not. It would not yet doe, Mens eyes were opened, the string of their tongues loosed, another Parliament must be cald, even that which because it cannot bee recald, must bee mis-cald, because it would not (at least for a time) bee deluded, it must bee destroyed: and thus am I led to the present condition: What need wee looke for any other ground of the severall attempts against this Parliament, then that disposition and those Counsels which discontinued them, which are still as strong, and more desperate then ever, because of the new quarrels that are fallen in; I know there have been many particular occasions, at least taken, of breaches and discontents, but yet the quarrel is not against this, but all Parliaments, unlesse they could get one new moulded that should be a *Conciliabulum* rather then a *Concilium*.

But I must be cald to a count for this Discourse: It may be thought impossible, that we should be so besotted as to drive a Spanish designe, and to fight for them in England, who fight against us in Ireland: Its true it were a wonder we should do this, if it were a wonder, we should doe any thing to undoe our selves: It hath been our disposition a good while, either to do nothing, or any thing, excepting alwayes some persons who are vigilant and earnest to disappoint these mischiefs. Wee have made severall expeditions to serve them; One to *Cales* to shew them where they were weakest, and give them notice, that no bodie else should take it: Another to *Ree* to weaken our selves; a third to *Rochel*, to see the towne safelie delivered up: a fourth and fifth to *Scotland*, to make them our yokefellows: and why not now a sixth more directlie against our selves.

But its further objected, it cannot bee beleevd this should bee either his Majesties intention to inflave his Kingdome, or the intention of those Lords and Gentlemen that are with him to despoile themselves of their Religion and Liberties. I returne this; They may doe the worke they intend not, and as wise as they take themselves, may be over-acted in their own designs

I cannot

I cannot, I dare not say, that they do agree in the serving this Jesuiticall designe, they have many ends different from this and one another. But thus first; I heartily doubt, it is the designe of many, some beyond sea, some in *England*, who have it may be a double voyce in the managing this businesse: The Papists had never been so full and forward in their contributions both of purse and person, were not there to them by themselves, and it may bee by others, propounded great enjoyments. 2 All that joyn in this antiparliamentary war though they do it not formally, yet by consequent they serve this designe of slavery and superstition by endeavouring the overthrow of the Parliament, either in it self or priviledges, which must preserve both liberty and religion. They say they meane but the reducing it, why that is to break it in its freedoms, and they cannot stop there, because they carry with them men, that as they hate to be ruled by a Parliament, so they love not to bee ruled by anie body, and when they are running down hill, especially *Descensus Averni*, who can stop them, not he that set them on? So that in the prevailing of the now raised force, the ruine of this, and indeed all Parliaments may bee easily discerned, unless such an one as may lawfully ruine us: in the ruining Parliaments, who sees not the ruine of Religion, Law, Liberty, and this Kingdome, nay which is more, the extreme danger, if not destruction of the Protestant Religion through Christendome.

If men have other intentions in this their expedition, as they do not justifie them though they were better then they are, so neither do they availe us, they fight not to serve *Spain* or *Rome* but themselves. But in meane time they are served, and themselves it may bee, disappointed. The masters of this mischief have a way to improve other mens principles and practises to their own ends they see a Parliament is not for their turn, they must have a warre, its a hard matter to finde so many men of one minde, as to agree to make an army for the same quarrell with the same end, therefore say they, let us observe their principles, and make them beleieve they do their own work:

Is there a man that hath much to lose, and is through guilt afraid of it, let him be possesst there is no way to keep it but by strong hands; is hee revengefull, let him often hear of injuries reall or pretended; is he proud, let him be promised an unlimited absolute government, let him be told how unworthy it is, a great man to have so many joynd with him in the point next supremacie, nay supremacy it self, The legislative power. Is there any that have endeavoured the betraying their Countrey, the building their ambitious projects upon the ruines of our safety and liberty, let them bee possessed there is no mercy in a Parliament, their estates if not persons must satisfie for their faults? Are there a people as there are too many whose lusts is their life, that fear the power of Religion and strict discipline, they must bee possessed that there is an endeavour of introducing a rigid Presbytery, an absurd independencie? Are there some who know not their own rights nor the state of our govern-
ment;

ment, let them bee posselt with the Majestie, nay with the Deitie of a King, what a horred thing is it to oppose an unlawfull command though to save a kingdome. Are there an ignorant people that will be deluded with promises and pretences, let the hopes of pillage bee propounded to them? Is there any thing men love, that the Parliament will take away, is there any thing they feare, that they will do. Thus do the contrivers of this mischief make use of every mans weaknesse or prejudice and either propound to them or let them propound to themselves, ends according to their severall tempers, and lead them on with hope of their own ends, to further theirs. In summe, the matter seems to be this, Popery must grow up amongst us, till it have ouergrown us; to accomplish that, the fence of our vineyard, our laws and liberties must be pluckt up, and that can hardly bee done so long as a Parliament continue, or at least continue in their power and priviledge; to this purpose let them bee defamed, dismembred, let an armie be drawn up to overthrow them, if that bee prevented, let another be raised, under pretence of a guard, to destroy them; That this may be, let the Prince fight for his prerogative, for the maintenance or improvement of his falsly supposed violated power. Let the Lords and Gentlemen fight for their lusts, the Divines and Lawyers (if yet they deserve such names) for the keeping and getting preferments, the Delinquents for their estates, their offices and shares in an arbitrarie power, the *Welchmen* for the word King and a Common-prayer-book, the poore for pillage, the ignorant they know not why: in the accomplishing these ends they shall accomplish a work they think not of, the destruction of our government, and end they know not of the growth of Popery, the wrong and ruine of the Protestant Religion here and in our neighbour nations; the work is done, wee are undone, there wants nothing but the *Plaudite* of the Popish Jesuited faction, and the late repentance of the unadvised furtherers of this mischief.

Now it were a question worth disputing and resolving what were the best way to prevent all this misery and mischief that is growing upon us. I know wiser men have it in hand, the Lord who is great in counsell, and mighty in working direct and protect them, and make them faithfull to them from whom they have found faithfulness. But this age wherein every man will be saying something, I will adventure for a share. It may be the last service, (if it be a service) that I can do, I will speak as if it were the last.

First there is, no man, or at least no Christian that doubts but a safe and honorable accommodation betwixt his Majestie and his Parliament, were to be preferd not only to the danger of a warre but the certainty of a victory; for in the one we should get an interest in his heart, by the other only in his person, and the effusion of innocent blood would be prevented. But the great difficulty is, whether these just and honorable terms are likelier to bee procured by faire means or by foule, by treating or fighting. To the resolving of this it must first be considered what is a safe, and what an honorable accommodation.

And

And here it must bee supposed that no government that is settled by men, or in men can be absolutely out of the reach of danger and destruction. The governments of men are as men are, subiect to corruption. As the Poet of persons and vices, *Vitiis nemo sine optimus ille—Qui minimis urgitur*. So I of governments none without its wants and inconveniences, that the best which hath least; we must never look either by peace or war so to settle our selves, as not to be unsettled. Yet it concernes us towards a safe accommodation to labour so to order things as not to lye open to manifest, or justly suspected miserie or mischief.

Let it therefore bee considered whether we can bee safe, unlesse the power of the *Militia* be placed in men of known trust and faithfulness to the Kingdome. Some are of opinion, it had better never beene medled with; that it hath occasioned this trouble, I much doubt it, this businesse was resolved should be; on that ground or some other. That accommodation can only bee safe to this Kingdome, which shall place the power of it in the hands of them that may be groundedly presumed wil use it for the preservation of it self, and consequently not leave or place it in the hands of them who have, or are likely to abuse it, to the destruction of the Kingdome. Some say let every man stand upon his own guard, leave it undetermined: it was alwayes unfit and unsafe, now most of all, both in regard of our selves and forraigne nations? We have received the first fruits of *Ireland*, something from other nations as a pledge of more inconvenient time. Wee have a desperate delinquent Popish party among our selves that calls for the settlement of the power of the Kingdome, so as to be used for its owne safety. Reports concerning *Denmark* have been accounted ridiculous by them who thought they had contrived their businesse so cunningly that it could not be known.

It is true, that work of darknesse hath been so clandestinely caried as that a judicall proof could not bee produced to satisfie the world; but besides the scornd relation of the Skipper at *Rotterdam*, who we yet see may speak as true as a courtier, and the common fame which runnes abroad, I beleve there wants not some who know the earnest endeavour of calling in forces from thence, the way and instruments of prosecuting that unworthy motion, what hath been acted in *Holland*, may be a sufficient argument of what hath been attempted otherwhere, all the world knowes how and by whom that work hath been carried on, and let all the world iudge whether the power of the Kingdome ought to bee put or left in thole hands, who have endeavoured to raise power against it or to bee left undetermined, when there are and have been such determinations against us from abroad, and such bitter quarrels at home among our selves, who need after these desperate instigations no crueller enemies then one another. It is true, though it bee said that it much matters not who hath the command of our trained bands, who have hitherto served for little use but to arme the Kings forces against the severall Countries and the
Parliament,

Parliament, but what hands the principall forts, armes and ammunition in & especially the Navy, is of as much consequence as the safetie of the Kingdom.
2 Let it be considered, whether we can be safe till the neck of this mentioned designe be broken of, whereby the servants of tyrrannie and superstition endeavour to bring us under ; It is beleevd that they are a restless generation that are alwayes either conceiving mischief or bringing forth iniquitie. Our interest must be untwined from the interests of Spaine and Rome, for so long as my Lo. *Cottingtons* house stands so neare the Spanish Embassadors, and Bristow is so convenient a harbour for Spain, we must look for little safety but lesse religion.

Now that this fire may be quenched, and not only raked up, it will bee necessary that the fuell and the fuellers be removed, that the instruments and matter of compassing this designe be abandond.

The instruments are conceived some particular men, who besides other characters plaine enough upon them, may be knowne by their advancing an arbitrarie Government in the King : and the mancipation of themselves, to the promiscuous service of the Queen, who is professedly zealous in this point and follows the plote by inheritance. The neck of this designe will scarce be broken, till the necks of some of the principall authors and actors be, and the rest disabled. And to that purpose, the Papists who are the dried fuell of this fire must be brought into another condition : the damnable compositions throgly damned, the laws against them made up into one good law, which in some cases may destroy them, in every thing disable them. This point of delinquents, though made a very tender point in regard of particular interests and relations which make haste to destroy the publike, is of exceeding consequence to our safety. Our neighbours though they may possibly not doe us the expected good, teach us this (but that wee are resolved to learne nothing) by their complement in the businesse which hath made them, I fear, unable to help us, and in us themselves, and makes them turn the thought of their neighbours welfare into a more direct solicitude for their own, in regard of her now dangerous, and its like shortly desperate party left amongst them, and left able to hurt them. They flatter themselves with their hardy poverty that it will not be worth the while to attempt them, that is sure but a poor refuge, wrath is outrageous, and anger is cruel, but who can stand before envie and revenge ? Let them be assured, that if we bee overborne with this feared mischief, and that party whom they know to have beene the instruments of their trouble as well as ours prevaile, they will finde the malignity of our nation to have a strange influence into theirs. to the doubling of their enemies among themselves and from us, to whom especially some among us they owe a great deal toward their present safety, they must expect fewer friends then formerly, unlesse they shew themselves more friendly, and so wee shall have a third union of the two kingdomes, an union in bondage : But pardon this digression, though I be out of the Kingdome, I am not much out of the way.

3 How can we be safe, unlesse our lawes be so by which wee are preserved, and how can that possibly be, unlesse there be some new power established, or the old power (if it be found only to have been deficient in respect of the persons trusted) in new hands, how shall we be the better for our Lawes, were our Laws better then they are, unlesse some exact course bee taken to give us the benefit of them, and though it seemes an unreasonable thing to nominate officers in the behalf of him who hath commanded and countenanced the violation of Law, that doubtlesse must be the least : and no man, no reasonable man but sees the case extraordinary : The God of heaven direct to a better remedie then for ought I hear is intended.

In the next place let it be considered, what is required to an honourable Accommodation.

An honourable Accommodation must be so in regard of God and of our selves. And here I crave mercy from our over-forward Accommodators; (I mean them from whom it is in vain to crave justice and truth,) that I mention God, who sure is not in all their thoughts, they fear God in a wrong sense, they fear lest he should rule among us; whom yet if wee give occasion to depart from us, which we shall do by unworthy termes, our defence is departed from us; whom if we now forsake he may justly cast us off for ever. An honourable Accommodation in respect of God is a safe one in regard of our selves, his honour is bound up with our happinesse; were it possible to settle peace without truth, we should yet be but what the French say of a beautiful harlot, A Paradise to the eye, but a Purgatorie to the soul.

Now in regard of God that Accommodation can be only honourable that may establish his true Religion in puritie and plenty : such an one as may extirpate Popery and Superstition, lay the grounds of a pious painfull Ministry, and to that end cast out those scandalous seditious persons, who have now shewed themselves as ill affected to the state as formerly to the Church, and this advantage against them of stirring up the people to war against the Parliament being neglected, I know no way of ejecting them. Such an one as may purge our doctrine, free it from such expressions as *Sancta Clara*, and the Arminians take advantage of, reforme our Discipline, and make it more conducive to the end of all discipline, the preservation of a Church from corruption in Doctrine and manners. And let it be weighed, whether that can bee done without the supplanting those plants which our heavenly Father never planted, the Bishops, which have hitherto brought forth the fruits of prophainesse, ignorance, superstition, and from whom little other can be expected. If you suggest, put better men in the places. Wee answer, The places will make them worse; for so constant experience tels, The persons were ever worke by the office, the office never better by the persons.

An Accommodation honourable in regard of God must be such as may cleanse the land from bloud, that innocent and precious bloud which cries to be avenged by our Parliament, or upon it.

That

That Accommodation which should be honourable in regard of our selves, must be such as might put that part of the Kingdome which have stood up in the defence of it, into such a condition as to be free from the insufferable insolence and scorne, as they will alwayes lye under, from their unsuppressed enemies ; but that is the least : Such an Accommodation shall we account honourable which may be so in regard of the Parliament, such as may retract the strange indignities offered that supreme Court, and vindicate their honour and power, and enable them to discharge that great debt which they have undertaken for, lest publike faith be justly accounted no better then publike fraud, which is the highest dishonour for so high a Court.

If it be here interposed, Where is your care for the Kings honour in the Accommodation ? I answer, I think it more necessary to the welfare of this Kingdome, that the honour of this supreme Court bee kept unstained then of any particular person whatsoever, I could wish the members of it would think so too, & avoid those retreats which wise men have already observed in their proceedings, and will in a short time appear to every body.

His Majestie hath fairer wayes out of his reall mistakes then the Parliament out of their supposed. He is (though a great) yet but one person, in whom an error is more tolerable : he is supposed to act according to the misinformation of evil counsels about him, let them bear the blame and shame. If it bee so stood upon, that his Majestie scornes any such evasion, and as he hath already been perswaded to do, take all upon himself, why should we endanger our selves by a solicitude for the reparations of that honour, which they whom it most concerns, are not at all.

For the Parliament to do what hath been required, and it may be, is expected : I had almost said what some of themselves are about to do, were to make them ridiculous and vile in the eyes of discerning people, as the relinquishing their orders, retracting their Declarations, deserting their friends. For the King to do what they have desired (though at another time it would have beene unreasonably asked, and dishonourably granted) is now both reasonable and honourable to a true judgement, if it be honour in a Prince to promote by all possible means the happinesse and securitie of his people, it were but to doe that of which there might be Examples given in other cases, where Princes have not thought it dishonourable, because they have done it to give satisfaction to people, to retract calumnies, to sacrifice delinquents, or at least receive them as a gratuity, though not worth the giving or taking.

The next and great Question is, whether we are likeli by a treaty to obtain from his Majestie a reall grant of such propositions as may stand with the safety of the Kingdome, the honour of God, of the Parliament and nation.

And here the former particulars must bee resumed. First, is it likely that during this unpretended danger we should obtain a settlement of the power of the Kingdome, principally of the Ships, Forts, and Armies in the hands of

them who are knowne friends of publick safety or liberty, taking it granted that we could find them. Here is a double doubt to be made, first, whether he will : secondly, whether he, considered in his present condition, can doe what may be for our security : His constant Declaration of himself seemes to expresse that he hath received two principles against it.

The one suggested by them who see no way of security, or at least of thriving, but in a way of violence, who endeavour to possesse his Majesty, that hee cannot be safe in the Armes of his Parliament and people, because they cannot, that there are inclinations to a defection in his people, and to an innovation of Government, even in the greatest points of it in the Parliament, or many considerable persons in it, and thence inferre, that there is no way for his Majestie to keep his priviledges, nor his person and crown but by force of armes, and therefore must have them placed in hands that his confidence so contrary to ours may be put in. How farre such suggestions have prevaild with his Majesty appears by his late answer to the Parliaments vain repetition of a Petition of returne, in which he saith, that to come up and trust them, were but tamely to lay down his Crown, which by force they saw they could not take from him. I do not know of any such inclinations in his people, but I am sure such counsels and such carriages are the way to beget them : He is further told, or needs no telling, that he parts with the Flowers of his Crown, which it is not reasonable, nay not lawfull for him to do in regard of posterity. But see here how indifferent these men are, as he for one, who wrote the late Answer to the Observations printed by Command at Oxford. It is lawfull, nay necessary for us to invest his Majesty with what right God hath given us, a right in our selves we may part with, yet more of our liberty, and lawfully and profitably make our selves slaves, but it is not lawfull for the King to part with an inch of Prerogative or abate a jot of power, though for that end for which all his power was given him, his people, good, and given him by us. He cannot do it without wrong to his issue : This will but give us occasion to dispute how far we are obliged by any acts or grants of our ancestours, giving away their and our liberty, and determine for our advantage. Doubtlesse his Majesties thoughts remaining as they have of late appeared to bee, it cannot bee expected that (had wee the hearts to ask it, which some say unworthily begiane to fail men, and make them fail their trust) hee should intrust the power of the Kingdome in those hands, whom we can onely trust, that is such as in this present businesse have shewed themselves faithfull to the Kingdome.

The case of constituting a power to see the laws duly executed, or at least of placing the present power in better hands is the like. These counsellors tell him there can be no new power but what is cut out of his, and the disposing of the former power is likewise his, that if it be not disposed by him, or else under hand by some body for him, it will be an insufferable diminution of

of his observance and authoritie. And no wonder though many endeavour thus to possesse him, because they look to have this power placed in themselves, to use it as they have done; His Majestie hath beene alwayes observed to be too true to his own ends, and to the persons promoting them, though other men who would yet be more confided in, have found a way to employ men and desert them; so that a reasonable man who weighs persons and things must conclude, that the King is not likely to yeeld heartily to the setting of that power, whereby he judges and rules, but into such hands that have given open testimony, or do give secret intimations and hopes either by their promises or their persons, that the power shall be used to the advance of prerogative and keeping the high way. You say some body must be trusted, I say, trust them that have not deceived their trust: you aske where they are to be found? I wish I could answer it; As *Luther* once cald for the 46 Psalme, so I for the twelfth, *Help, Lord, for the godlie man ceases, the faithfull faile from the children of men.* But if our eyes were opened we might prettie well see whom not to trust, neither with laws or Armes; that is, some rall Cedar posts, whose varnish is now worne off, the wormes seen, the rottenness discovered, let not these be any longer accounted or used as pillars of the Common-wealth; Trust not men that are really needy, unlesse you bee sure they can make no better bargain: trust not men that by covetousnesse make themselves needy, they will make a bargaine for themselves and of you: trust not men that are known vitious and sensually corrupt, though forward assertors of Liberty, they are in danger to be given up by God, or to give themselves up to actions every way dishonourable. The truth is, though it sound like a Paradox, where few can be trusted, more must: and seeing we find men very subject to be corrupted by honour and authority, especially in these times where such snares are laid, and such baits propounded, let the Law and Rule be made as plain and certain as may be, the Offices of Rule and Judicature must be made more temporary and arbitrary in respect of the people then formerly. Though this will sound harsh to men even accounted moderate, for I observe a generation that are extremely set for liberty only, that themselves may be licentious, and very hot against arbitrary Government, till themselves have or hope to have a share in it, as in the Earl of *Straffords* case, whose steps you see men of loud repute now beginning to trace, not thinking of his end.

In the next place let be examined, whether it be like to obtaine of his Majestie in this conjuncture, the suppression of that party Popish and otherwise Malignant, in whose impunity it is impossible for us to be safe; Whether I bee mistaken let wise men judge, but to mee the popish faction, the promoters of an arbitrary government by force, for such is that I fear, and the true patrons and lovers of truth and just liberty are as two scales or buckets, if one bee high the other must be low; as it is against piety, so it is beyond the reach of policie

licy, so to poyse them especially after such stirring the humours on both sides, as to keep peace in this Kingdome. One must down, it concerns us neerly to see which: First, let us consider, whether it is likely by our treaty so to abate the number and power of Papists, as that they shall not remaine continuall thornes in our sides. It is justly feared they have too deep an interest, and another kinde of reward is expected by them and intended to them for their forward and usefull service at home and abroad, all that they have done in *Ireland* is not like to prevaile so much to their discountenance as what they have done against *Scotland* and *England* to their favour, they have been former preached to bee, and have now made good *Squire* priests prophesie of the good Samaritane; good subjects in the Kings sense, though not in the Kingdomes. Shall they be discouraged, shall they be discarded, no let the point of the sword and their swords too be turned upon another sort of men who have rebelliously armed themselves to save a Parliament from assassination and a kingdome from ruine. Shall not the Queen be gratified with the more free use of her religion, after that abundant service in *Holland* for the provision of men and armes against us. It requires doubtlesse a faith little short of presumption to beleieve that ever by treaty the popish party shall be weakened, faith may be kept with them though they keep none.

So for delinquents of the same kinde, though another Religion, though we allow as much as can be allowed, that there be not a strict and punctuall prosecution of all that have shewed themselves enemies to the State. It is possible to obtaine so much of his Majesties favour or justice as to have the heads or necks of some of them who have been most desperate and active in the embroyling this Kingdome in this civill war, and the proportionable censure of the rest. It is doubted, nay it is despaired, whom we call enemies of the State, he calls friends and makes favourites, and keepes them in his bosome, who by the warmth of his favour are so heightned, that those whose care and pains have been indefatigable for the preservation of the Kingdome from ruine both by sea and land, are accounted the same to his Majestie as those counsellors to us: where the Parliament thinks of punishments or should think, his Majestie thinks of rewards, and so on the contrary.

If you say that all must be remitted, first the just and reasonable expectation and engagement of the Kingdome cannot be so satisfied. Secondly, wee still keep within our bosome the fuell of a greater fire, if possible, and more ready after these exasperations to take fire upon all occasions, and will be most ready of all, when dried, as they are like to bee, by the Parliaments impunity and the Kings favour.

3 We leave our selves to the scorne and insolencie of them whose pride and blasphemy is not like to stop till it comes at, *Where is now their God?* Which if it seem good to the disposing hand of Heaven, let mee rather dye then see or suffer.

If any here think or say, There is a great deal of reason his Majesty should grant what may bee for the safety of the Kingdome, it is for his own safety: I answer my question is concerning will, not concerning reason. We are indeed told by him that undertakes the answer to the Observator, that we must suppose that Prince out of his wits, either not come to them or past them, a mad man or a child that will not do all for the safety and prosperity of his people, in which he is safe and flourishes. We are told this but finde the contrary and have found it so often, that it ceases to be a wonder. It is not impossible for a man not out of his wits, neither though in that particulare hee hath not the right use of them to do that which may tend to his own ruine for want of foresight, if you be not in this resolved ask our reverend Prelates.

But further, though a Prince may be tender of the lives of his subjects, because he would have many to rule over; yet it is a question or a negative conclusion; Whether he desires to preserve their lives, so as they may bee worth the injoying with the advantage of their estates and liberties. It is true, in right reason this ought to be his desire and endeavour, because it is the honour of a Prince to bee ruler of a rich and free people; but wee many times finde that Princes represent their subjects to themselves in the same relation as the land to the sea, what I can gaine out of it is mine own; Every abatement of a privilege in them is an advancement of a prerogative in me, the emptying their purses fills my coffers, and so make the happinesse of the people and their own, which should bee wraped up together, to be two distinct, nay two contrary things, as it is in *France*, and hath appeared to bee in *England* in the midst of that 14 years spoile made upon us. Judge now whether it be not possible upon these termes for a Prince to be so far from seeking the honour and safety of his people as to seek their ruine as the foundation of his ryfing; and make a second judgement, Whether we have not so represented to his Majestie; So that you see or may see there is absolute necessity, that a Prince should alwayes seek the true safety of his people with the advantages of wealth and liberty: But his gracious Majestie will; we have no way to judge of mens wils and dispositions, but their former actions and present preparations: it is too apparant, he hath at least permitted things to be done very much to the prejudice of his people, but we have promises for what we wish, We wish there were no reason to diffide. Its one extreme unhappinesse that the word of a King cannot rid us of all feares; What would you have further; that which wee pray God for; a hearty close: But what would you have his Majestie do further for your satisfaction? Wee would have him do, prevent the propositions with something that might really advance the good of his people, and abdicate all those persons and counsellours who have fomented this destructive jealousy, and given the advise for this unhappie division. It must not bee wondered that people will not bee satisfied with promises and protestations that have lived upon them while they are almost starved, and they evidently see *Esanes* rough hand going along with *Jacobs* smooth voyce. And

And truly for my part, as it is doubted whether he will, so whether he can, without a hard adventure yeeld to things so much for our advantage, and for the disadvantage of his great guard. The devill is now got out of the circle and playes Reakes, the guard is thriven to an army, two or three. Its some doubt whether the power that raised the devill can lay him; I have heard it reported, and am ready to beleve it, when I consider the disposition of many men about his Majestie, that some should say, as they had engaged themselves, their friends and fortunes, in the quarrell, as warre could not bee made without them, peace should not. And there is one doubtlesse in whose brest you may finde that indignation of *Juno*, *Mene incepto desistere victam* &c. So that in the making of peace it is feared there must be articles made by them and for them, in whole peace we can have no peace.

Judge ye now of the likelyhood of a safe accommodation, something may be further added concerning the probability of an honourable.

Honourable in respect of God: What hopes is there that Popery should bee rooted up? May wee not rather, in regard of the service done by the Papists, expect an intolerable toleration. But wee have many engagements for the Protestant profession. I must here seriously proteste my doubt, that there is some equivocation in that word *Protestant*; that the sense is taken as it hath been by some very large. You know how by the superstitious Prelates, the pillars of the Kings protestant Religion, popery hath been restrained, and protestancie must bee accordingly enlarged. The Archbishop of *Canturbury* professed himself a direct enemy to popery truly and properly so called, which I beleve he only thought to bee the Popes supremacie, which he could scarce spare him; for all other points or most, wee know were preached and printed with his command or connivence. Now if the protestant Religion be enlarged, according as the popish is straitned, a promise to maintaine the protestant Religion is more then a man can wish.

What hopes that superstition should bee abolished, his Majestie expressed himself at *Cambridge* an approver of all the superstitious dressees and gestures there used.

Of the purging our Doctrine or reforming our Discipline what hopes? We shall have a Synod, but who dares come to it upon the accommodation? or who dares speak freely in it, after the Parliament by this accommodation, shall submit to the King; wonder not that I count an accommodation, a submission, I beleve the King (and justly) counts the offer of it a victory. How miserably will you finde the indifferent Clergie warping to the prevailing party, the zealous absent, and that justly, for I have a great deale of reason to be confident, that scarce any considerable man, who hath been engaged in this quarrell on the Parliament part, I make bold to call it so, for I hope they will yet own it, if hee retaine his integritie, dares abide the issue of a present accommodation.

For

For the maine thing tending to the honour of God and the salvation of men, the establishing of a faithfull painfull Ministry, how impossible is it by accommodation. Way must be made for that great work by displacing those idle, scandalous, superstitious, ignorant persons, who are *fundi nostri calamitas*. But how this can be done by composition, I apprehend not, if this advantage against them of stirring up the people to spoile and rapine were taken, it were a good likely meanes of rooting out them who had shuffled their cards so cunningly as to be out of the reach of Law in other respects, but if these men so unfit either for Church or Common-wealth be demanded, I beleeve this black guard must not be parted with; they may contend with the highest delinquents, nay Papists themselves for point of service in this cause; they have been the frogs coming out of the mouth of the beast, and the false prophet, stirring up the people to battell, telling them that though they damne themselves, God will save them, they shall either live Saints or dye Martyrs: These men must be spared in regard of the service they have done, cannot bee spared in regard of the service they may again do upon the like occasion: for let any man observe and he shall finde, that those places which have been the dens of superstition, the dungeons of ignorance, the sinkes of prophannesse in regard of scandalous Ministers, have contributed the forwardest assistance in this cause against the Parliament. Though I will not deny but some learned and ingenuous men (whose principles have yet been below the power of godlinesse) have upon generall mistakes and the swaying of particular ends engaged themselves in this businesse, though not so deep as others.

And no doubt but the Prelates themselves will be again accommodated by this accommodation, notwithstanding the votes (to them now ridiculous and called dotes) passed against them, for they say a Parliament ordinance can recoile as well as a Convocation Canon. No doubt, I say, but they may regain their power in the Church, though it is like the Lords house may never have need of them.

And lastly, how can the land by this accommodation be cleansed from blood, that crying sinne, which hath been contracted by this quarrell, if the Parliament have engaged men to shed innocent blood, I see no reason but that they submit, and an expiation be made; if on the contrary the Antiparliamentary faction beare the guilt, why not the punishment? As I apprehend it, the chief end of this taking up armes on their party was to bring Delinquents to punishment, if now they give up on these termes, they have made manie Delinquents, punished none, but rather given them a false encouragement to the like offences by shewing them the worst they can look for from the justice of a Parliament. And truly this to me is a sad consideration which makes me beleeve God will not prosper an accommodation without the execution of justice upon those blood-thirstie men. I read in the story of *Manasses*, that though he afterward repented, which our enemies are farre from, yet wrath

came upon Judah and Jerusalem, because of the provocation of *Manasses*, 2 *King*. 24. 4 but particularly for the innocent blood which he shed, which the Lord would not pardon. If the people, and especially [the Parliament do not their utmost to wash their hands, and cleanse the land from this innocent and pretious blood that hath been shedde, I feare that blood, which they take no care to bee avenged by them, will bee avenged upon them; which they will beleve, when they see their accommodation turned into an assassination, which is no impossible businesse, neither will it bee thought so upon a little recollection. The designe must on, the authours are impatient of this retrograde they have suffered these three yeeres, they cannot make use of so much further patience as to work by wiles and windings, in all probability the mysterie of iniquitie so workes; as that if they that have letted will let they must be taken out of the way. Pardon these melancholick thoughts, I doubt there are too many of my minde, and yet, it may be, not many enough.

But sayes my confident friend, when you see safe and honorable propositions offered and agreed upon, are you not gallantly deceived. I confesse I am, I shall be deceived if such termes be offered; more if they be kept.

But what will you say when you see the King come to *London*, upon the motion of the City, and a yeelding of the fairest termes you can expect? I cannot tell what to say, but I know what to think. Yet I may tell you what the *Italians* say, They feare courtesies sometimes more then injuries, and this jealousy is not alwayes folly. I would make it a rule for my own practise, let other men live by their own rules; If my provoked professed enemy suddenly and without ground become miraculously kinde and close with me; I shall remember *Joab* and *Amasa*. I ask pardon again: My melancholy is deep.

In conclusion my thoughts are these, first that upon these considerations it seemes to me improbable that safe and honorable termes if they bee offered should be granted and kept.

Secondly, though men bee weary of the present, and desire to tumble into their former conditions; It seemes not agreeable to the order of divine dispensation, that all this stir should be made, this blood shed, to produce a cold accommodation: Doubtlesse the period of this businesse will bee some great alteration, liberty or tyranny, Popery or true piety.

Though men, great men and a great many sometimes rise a great deale of dust, and make a mighty buffle and bring forth nothing but winde: Yet God who doth nothing in vaine is not wont to lay such foundations, and temper mortar with blood, to have the rest of the building daubed up with untempered mortar. There are many, though not propheties, yet sad predictions which godly and wise men have found by prayer and observation, to bee fulfilled upon us before wee can look for happinesse though in Gods due time, and we hope in a short time he may bring light out of darknesse, and perfect
peace

peace out of this trouble. All the suffering almost hath fallen upon the house of God, judgement commonly begins there, but mee thinks it should not end there: If the green tree be cut to bleeding, sure the dry shall bee cut to burning. We have been so long dandled in peace and sensuall pleasures, that we can endure to think of nothing else, but it is to be doubted wee must account for what we have enjoyed, for what we have abused, before we be trusted with more. These I say are my feares, though my hopes and prayers be, that the Lord would say to the destroying Angel, It is enough. I can and do expostulate, as once the Prophet, *O thou sword of the Lord, how long will it be ere thou be quiet? put up thy self into thy scabberd, rest and be still.* Jer. 47. 6. But my mouth is ready to be stopt with the following verse, *How can it be quiet, seeing the Lord hath given it a charge against England, &c.* Let me not here bee misinterpreted (I know I speak to angry men) I lay down this as a bare opinion, I make it not a rule to my own or others working. I pray for peace, labour for peace, advise for a good and seasonable peace, though my thoughts misgive in point of sudden event. Let certaine rules and known grounds such as these, (*Follow peace with all men and holinesse, therefore love the truth and peace, If it be possible* (now that is only possible which is lawfull; *How can I do this and sinne?*) *live peaceably with all men*) be the guides of mine and others actions, notwithstanding such, though not groundlesse, surmises. The world seemes to be bigge with some great birth, the Lord hasten it in its time, alterations seeme to abide all Christendome, I pray God make ours for the better. I leave it now to the world, or at least to the little world of prudent men, to judge what likelihood; there is of a safe and honorable accommodation; such a one as may be built upon the foundation of truth: Peace without truth is no true peace, If the wisdom which lyes against the truth is earthly, sensuall, and divellish, whatsoever is done by or for us, God grant it may be done by that wisdom which is from above, that is first pure, then peaceable, without partiality, without hypocrisie. Jam. 3. 15 And then the fruit of righteousness will be sown in peace to them that make peace.

But suppose (if it be lawfull to be supposed) that the Parliament, through the absence of many resolved men, now imployed in particulare services for their owne Countries, out of an intolerable wearinesse of this present condition, and feare of the event, agree to the making up of an unsafe unsatisfying accommodation. This would beget a question, which I hope I shall never have occasion to dispute, whether in case the representative body cannot, or will not, discharge their trust to the satisfaction, not of fancy, but of reason in the people; they may resume (if ever yet, they parted with a power to their manifest undoing) and use their power so farre as conduces to their safety; And if this doubt cannot bee resolved to the advantage of the people but be found either unlawfull or otherwise impossible. I know but two wayes more betwixt which the chouse is very hard, hang or flye, As for hanging I

should not much like it, though it were in a blue ribband, but for flying you will say the way is open, I would it were as I could wish it, if ever God bring us to such a strait: But in the mean time, if honest and engaged men bee so far deserted as to be constrained to flight, it will be full of dishonour and danger; dishonour to them by whom they have been so engaged and employed, and danger to the Nation, which by their absence will be the more exposed to an inrode of superstition and tyrannie. It may bee there are some that will be ready to say a faire riddance, they are the troublers of Israel who are thus full of jealousies, as to runne away from the shadow of their own dreames: but there will be others, as wise as they of another mind who know that the Puritans though they bee thought a little factious and troublesome in the Church, yet they are good Common-wealths men, resolute asserters of the publike liberty, that will pay roundly, and fight too, if need be, and cannot well be spared. And truly as there is a great deal of unsafety in it in reason, so doubtlesse it would give God an advantage against the Nation, and make him proceed without any such demurre, as, *How shall I give thee up, O Ephraim? O England.*

But one thing further: Although an Accommodation may be probable, yet I meet with many who hold a strong conveniencie, if not an absolute necessity of sending propositions, in whose denyall may bee advantage. But it is in vain for me to dispute that which the parliament have determind; I only wish the sending of them may do as much good, as the delay in framing of them hath done harme. It is expected the not granting of them, should bring off some of the Kings party; I am sure the making of them at this time hath lost some of the Parliaments, it hath divided the City, the Parliament, the Kingdom, almost starved the Armie, and brought things to confusion. For when people conceive the Parliament recide from their principles and votes, wherby they have formerly declared themselves in an incapacity of treating, and give little lesse then an implicate consent to an accusation of treason against their instruments, they begin to withdraw their hearts and hands, not knowing how low they mean to go themselves, or bring their friends. It were therefore to be wished, that preparations for war and peace were carried on with an equall hand, that the enemies of the Parliament had not so much encouragement, nor their friends so much discouragement: For let us bee assured, if the Parliament give them, whom they called malignants, equall interest in them with their friends, friends will be harder to finde then ever they were, and furthest off when there is most need of them. And what a lamentable thing a Parliament is without the people, in all just cases to stick to them, if you know not, remember the fourth of January, the great Army by land, and Navy by Sea, the pikes and protestations, that have been mentioned with a jeering indignation. But I here seriously aske pardon for making that my work, which is the work of wiser men. I am led to a discourse I hope beyond expectation,
which

which will be a just inference from that which hath been said concerning Accommodation.

We all know that force and armes must now do that which faith and truth before this Iron Age were wont to do, and whether wee treat or not, it is of absolute necessity that there be an armie till the King see fit to discharge his guard: If this armie be dissolv'd hee is a wise man that knowes where to have another; if we have none, we shall never need to think of making propositions, they shall be made to our hands, or to our heads, and necks. It is left therefore to indifferent men to judge, whether it be not fit that this present armie raised by the Parliament and maintained by the City and Kingdome, may not in justice expect countenance and maintenance from them, by whom, and for whom, they have been employed and engaged. For the first, which is countenance they stand not so much upon, onely as it is a part of their reputation, but the latter is the main.

I finde even among the Parliament men, many who have conceiv'd and expressed, I think unjust I am sure unpolitike jealousies of the army, which have so far wrought upon many considerable men in it, that in case the like necessity again returne, I very much feare, whether they would not rather flee to save their own lives then stand to fight for them who so requite them. It is a strange and unhappie turne, that where the safety not long since was, (and to a right judgement now is) there the danger should be. Cannot we be content to be jealous of our enemies? But it is not to be wondred at, when the people who have been their immediate safety finde the like measure from some of them, who begin now to suspect, that they have been so forward for their supplies and defence only, that they might make use of them to do some strange thing, and be midwives to some *Chimera*, which yet no body knowes what to make of. I guesse at such thoughts by some expressions I have heard from them; who say, they doubt the people aime at some great *infandum*, something too bigge for their mouths though not for their hearts, which they are so horribly afraid of being service able to, that they many times doubt whether themselves should do their own duty, because they suspect other men forget theirs. Not considering that this is the way to beget a counter-jealousie which may undoe all, but the Parliament first.

There are some men, it may be, that will not speake what they would have, it is as likely that they will never attempt it, mens wishes may bee modest enough, all things considered, and yet not easily expressed. The Parliament find it an extream hard thing to say what themselves would have, they are as men walking among quagmires, know not where to fasten a foot. No wonder though the poore people whose thoughts are all swallowed up in danger, and distraction cannot say what they would have for their own safety.

But for the matter of the Army, this treatie is not like to bee of so speedy dispatch, if safely carried, but it will admit, nay urge a consideration of
main-

maintaining the Army, and finding out a settled way of maintenance. The Kingdome hath hitherto supplied the Army as the King supplied himselfe before the Parliament by loanes and bargaines, and a contribution lyable to two great mischiefs, trouble and uncertainty, it were good some constant course were undertaken, that we might be rid of our fears, and the hopes of our enemies a little dashed, who flatter themselves with the failing of our treasure, knowing we have not the conscience to live as they do. And to this purpose an excize, a weekly assisment or voluntarie contribution must be thought on. As it is no contemptible summe that is paid upon a voluntary monethly contribution, so it might be made more considerable, if men were by some means or other brought to a levell: for it is the unevenesse of the grounds men are upon that makes them stumble at this way of supply: they say and say justly, that unlesse the disaffected party be reduced to some proportionable termes, they shall go on to impoverish themselves, and make themselves the objects of the scorn and insolencie of their enemies, and the pity of their friends. Here therefore let it be considered, (nay let it be no longer considered, *In re tam iusta non est deliberandum*) whether with all diligence (I had almost said with all violence) the Ordinance for assessing the Non-contributors bee not to be put in execution: I am ashamed of the excuses made in this particular, some that are employed pretend they are afraid of the ill will of their ill neighbours. But what equitie is there in this proceeding, it is a continuall quarrell (*ad ravim usque*) in the Citie, that the Army marches not against *breastworkes, basteries*, and the *mouth of the Ordinance*, when themselves do not, and pretend dare not, with the advantage of an Ordinance of Parliament, adventure upon the open *mouth of a malignant* upon the hopes of our ruine, *mounted* against them.

But it may be some feare their hands more then their thoughts or tongues. That is hard, that the power of Parliament and *Militia* in the hands of men well affected to the Parliament should leave grounds of terrour in the mindes of the City, let them assure themselves that fear this fear, that they shall never have lesse reason to be afraid then now they have, and if they let them go on at this rate, the thing that they fear will come upon them; our diffidence is their strength: We have so used them hitherto, that they can be more merrie in a prison then we in our freest meetings. And it is to me a sad thought (which the mention of a prison hath brought to my minde) that our prisoners, men of repute, pietie, and valour should bee so unworthily used by our adversaries; and we in the mean time suffer theirs to enjoy not only unnecessary but unlawful contents, witnesse the plenty of wine, and the resort of women (where there be Cats, there must be Vermine) at *Lambeth house*. How just were it that we had twenty or thirty of the chief of them, some of the souldiers, some of the Citizens, sent to *Windsor Castle* or some other place, where they might at the best fare but like souldiers, or otherwise according to intelligence. Let the

the Parliament be assured, that if they give up on these termes, they will leave an everlasting discouragement upon their friends, and not know where to find men to stick to them (for themselves see how they are abused by the petitioners for peace, whose sense is fully enough expressed in the libellous complaint to the Commons) when they shall have need, which I am confident through the restless designs of them who lye at the bottome of this businesse, they will quickly have.

But it will be here objected, the Armie give continuall disadvantage to their own maintenance and encouragement by the ill managing the affairs committed to their trust.

To this I answer, First, that I would not be taken for the generall Advocate of the Armie; doubtlesse there are faults personall and reall, more then I know, more then can be excused: But first there have been many things said against the Armie that never were, or could be proved; and further the Army is prejudiced by the expectation of things impossible. When the people are unchangeable, and the Parliament infallible, the Armie shall be unblameable. It is expected by the Parliament and City that the Officers should bee all honest and faithfull: what an unreasonable thing is this, will you expect that in a Camp, that you find not in a Court? no not in the two great Courts of the Kingdome and Citie, the Councell of the Commons, and the Common-Councell. And to make good my title and speake *Plaine English*, The Parliament and City have shared in the power of the Armie, it is good reason likewise they should share in the blame: They have recommended many of the Officers they finde fault with, whatsoever other men are; I can assure they are not all Saints that they have put into the Calendar. For the consequent of corrupt Officers, which is false Musters, it is a great and a just quarrell which all honest men desire to remove the ground of. But first let it bee considered, that it is the common lot of all the Armies of Christendome, the Prince of *Orange* makes the same complaint, to which purpose I could tell you a story, but that I am resolv'd against tediousness. The noble and victorious King of Sweden did by his very great diligence provide against it as much as was possible. But in stead of quarrelling, let us attempt, a not impossible, redresse. Let the Parliament or City, if they can in this wicked world find some stoicall men, that despise money-----*Quos dignos spectatu arbitramur*, appoint pay-masters to every Regiment from whom the Officers and Souldiers should receive their pay: let them attend constantly, and pay two or three times a weeke at an appointed place in the quarter with the forfeiture of pay upon an unlawfull absence. The honest Officers would heartily embrace this motion, and be glad to bee free from the continuall trouble they now endure from their importunate retinue, as for Knaves they will not speak against it, lest they shew themselves so. It being alwayes reserved, that honest men upon better reason may speake against this motion, to which

I submit. This would be a way to save money, to keep the souldiers together; only let care be taken that the men to whom this trust is committed be of good repute, and able sometime at a pinch to disburse some money to the common souldiers. But I leave this in the midst.

Another great quarrel is, but the most unjust, that they march not, that they are not active. The souldiers hands indeed go not so fast as other mens tongues, Actions is not so quick as thought, especially thoughts winged with earnest desires, *Desideria etiam celeritas in mora est*. Are there not continuall parties out, and that with no contemptible successe, according to which if men glorified God, and were thankfull, they would not bee so vaine in their imaginations: Let them look upon other armies in forraigne Nations; upon the Kings army, whom it concerns to bee active, if they had opportunity. To assault *Reading*, nay to gain it, would not countervaille the hazzard and losse, It is likely they would attempt *Oxford*, though against reason, if the Parliament and City will undertake for their own security in the *interim*, and make good the necessary damage of a winter siege. Oh how easie a thing it is to give a hard censure, to fare well and lye warm, and to condemne poore souldiers, to lye in winter-trinches at the mercy of wet and cold. Sure there are many men that think it as easie a matter to winne a towne; though fortified, as to make a breach in the wals of a Christmas-pie. But as I undertook not an absolute justification in the other complaints, so neither do I in this, but doubt not but they may receive satisfaction from them whose experience makes them able to say more then I can, but of late the complaint hath been reciprocally; The souldiers would not act for want of pay, the people would not pay for want of action. The best way is to mend both together.

In fine, let us bee well assured that whosoever suffers his discontent against the army to grow up to revenge, means in the issue to strike himself. And whereas it is said that the putting the army into an expectation of constant supply would make them unwilling ever to disband, how void of reason is this exception? whereas in the hands of the Parliament and City are those nerves and ligaments which hold the army together, which they may shrink or cut as they see cause. But from the necessity of an army I passe to the conveniencie if not necessity of an association.

And how could I now wish that my pen could droppe spirit and vigour into the hearts of my planet-stricken countrey-men. Or rather that he who formeth the spirit of man within him, and fashioneth the hearts of the children of men, would give them so much of his own Spirit, which is a Spirit of truth and actoin, as to make them valiant for the truth once committed to them. How sad a thing is it to see what a French tincture our English Nation hath gotten, as if there were a bridge made from *Calis* to *Dover*. What an apish disposition hath possessed our Gentry, what an asinine disposition our Commonalty, which if not timely shaken off, will make way for the worst of France

to be ruled by horses in stead of men, which is a thing I have long feared.

Hear, O People, consider that you are considerable or might be, if good counsel would be taken. Do not you see how you are courted by the King, what care the Parliament take for your satisfaction? Sure you are not so contemptible a thing as some would make you; your right is much, and your power no lesse, if you would know the one and use the other. I am sensible how offensive this discourse is like to bee, but it never was my intention (had it been possible) to please all men. But let me not be mistaken, I am farre from the Monster of a *Democracy*, that which I call to the people for, is but a quick and regular motion in their own sphere, to do that which the Parliament hath sometimes cald upon them for, to contribute their best helps to two great workes, of mercy and justice: *Mercie to the Kingdome in its preservation, Justice to its enemies in their destruction.* Suppose they hit not upon the same meanes, but through the narrownessse of their precept, which can scarcely bee extended to all circumstances and opportunities, bee constrained to out-run a command, their faithfull prosecution of the end designd them, which is the safety and preservation of the Kingdome, and in it their own, may justly excuse them, if not commend them: as by the votes of acceptable service may appear.

And here I confesse my self at a stand, I know not what remedy to prescribe to this Lethargie, the things that one would have thought should have quickned the people have stupified them; if the dint of the sword; the noise of the Canon directed and discharged against themselves, their laws & liberties, their wives and children, cannot awake them, I know not what will; unlesse it be the thunder of some terrible judgement from heaven that will at once awake them, and lay them down to a perpetuall sleep. How strangely are mens eyes dimmed, and hearts deaded: Not above a year since upon the noise of bringing up an Army to put the Parliament in wardship, up the attempt of an illegall seisure upon some of their members, what a high and yet just tide were men flown to, *Quantum mutatus ab illo - Hecore?* — Wee now see that done with open face which was then studiously concealed, a mighty *Guard* actually raised, brought up as neer the Parliament as feare would suffer them; for notwithstanding that short Covering of the *Brainford* businesse, to knowing men it is undoubted, that the designe was upon the Parliament and City, where if God had not mercifully and miraculously prevented, after their Sabbaths dayes plunder of *London* (their usuall Sanctification) strange acts might upon Monday morning have been made at *Westminster*; when terror had seized upon the good, and confidence, if not impudence, possessed the evil. Wee now see in stead of those 6 at least 26 accused of treason for the same cause that they were, that is, being forward and active for the preservation of the Kingdome from the Kings Guard. It is the same season of the yeare, a more unquestionable cause, where are your pikes and protestations? your courage and resolutions? Do you conceive your danger more, your enemies are formidable,

should not your valour encrease with your danger, if it were so, when the cause remains the same? But look seriously about you, you will not want encouragement. Look West or North, or South, to *Sussex, Devonshire, to Lancashire and Yorkshire*; but especially look above you to heaven it self, you can want no arguments to stir you up in this service; let no man be dismayed by the dreame of impossibility. Do you say that life is sweet? is not Religion? is not Liberty so likewise? they should be as delightfome as they are wholesome:

*Summum crede nefas animam praeferre pudori
Et propter vitam vivendi perdere causas.*

I am ashamed that any man that understands these lines should not so farre understand himself, as to count all things losse and dung, to gaine the price that is now in his hand, and let him bee ashamed too, with a shame that puts on to amendement.

We have long pretended a zeale against idolatry, while in the mean time we are all become an idoll. We have eyes, and see not, &c. Wee have eyes and see not an army of Papists, not only with permission allowed to use their own religion, but with commission appointed (in even) to destroy ours, we have eares and heare not the continuall blasphemies against our God, the reproches and slanders against our Parliament; It cannot indeed be said, Wee have monthes and speak not. For they that do least commonly speak most. But I am sure I may say, Feet have we, and march not; hands have wee and handle not the sword and shield. We talk of want of armes, its want of hearts; had we no Smith in England, as once in Israel, if men had their true English Protestant spirits, and well timed their attempts, their enemies had been meat to them, though many of them (as they that viewed their carcasses at *Kinton* say) rotten meat. But I am weary of complaint, let me turn to advice. Besides those foggy mists of ignorance and mis-information that have at once blinded mens eyes, and dulled their spirits, the great disadvantage of this great body of the people which I now speak to, from doing great things hath been the disunion of them, many twigs have been broken which if bond up together would have made a rod for the severe correction, if not destruction, of their enemies.

Let it therefore be considered, whether an association well and warily laid may not be a great advantage for the recollection of these loose and distracted spirits, which united might be so serviceable. An Association I say well and firmly laid; An Association not subject to Equivocation; An Association more particulare then the Protestation, which like the net in the gospell brought up fishes good and bad, and stones as well as fishes.

And here let the children of this generation (for I hope they shall never see the next) the Bishops, be taken into example for the manner though not the matter

matter of the act: When they went to contrive an Oath they did it to the purpose, a string, distinguishing Oath that should have scarce left an honest minister in the Kingdome. Therefore, I say, let this Association bee wiselie laid so as to give us to know our friends from our enemies, yet not so strictly as to engage to things impossible or too many, but something to this purpose. To the maintenance of our established Religion and Law, with all possible improvement, to the maintenance of this Armie (raised under the conduct of the truly Noble and Valiant Earle of Essex Captain Generall) by Purse and Person against the opposite faction, and to bring Delinquents so voted, by the (once sacred) Votes and Consent of Parliament to condigne punishment. But I am now beyond mine own line, I know there hath been pains taken in this businesse, and the speculation of it hath been more fully studied by others, then my desire of practise will for the present allow me to do. This businesse as it must be well laid, so warily and religiously entred into. There is a great deal of danger in promissary Oaths, I would have no man lose his soule to save a Kingdome, which hee that knowes well the price of souls, having paid for so many, prefers to a whole world. This Association especially in the Easterne and Southern parts of the Kingdome that enjoy the benefit of the now raised Armie, in all reason must be for a contribution to the maintenance of it. To agree for the preservation of their own counties by their native power, had been sufficient, it may be, before an opposite Army raised; but it will be now found most concerningly necessary to look at the present army raised in the defence of the Kingdome as the best ground-work of safety, and I doubt not but they will so approve themselves when the spring of action comes. There are a generation of men too fruitfull, who though the Ark and Israel lye in tents, yet they must go in and eat and drink, and lie with their wives, of whom good use may yet be made, let them pay for an indulgence for this their indulgency, these are well-woulders to the Parliament and Kingdome, let the impediments of their action, their wives and children, bee content to purchase the presence of their husbands and parents, with the want of those accomplishments, which in these times may be well spared, and by this meanes I doubt a summe too considerable may be raised.

The benefite of such an Association would bee doubtlesse great; It would concenter and determine the loose and languishing affections of men and propound them a particular mark of action. It would be a good second string in case the Parliament should unhappily miscarrie, where as otherwise we should be found as sheep scattered, a fit prey for the *Wolves* of these times. Much more might be said to this purpose, but a little done, were better then a great deal said. Let therefore thoughts and words put on action, the love of Christ prevail as much in Protestants for a *Confederacie*, as the zeal for Antichrist hath done in Papists for *Conspiracie*. When Theeves and Murderers say, Let us all have one purse, let us lay wait for bloud; doth it not concerne true men,

men of truth to say, Let us have one heart, let us go out (as it was said of the children of Israel) as one man against them : Let us therefore lay aside our particular interests, and embarke our selves in this common cause of Religion, Laws and Liberty, all the paines we otherwise take is but building without a foundation. It is in vain for an honest man to think of prosperity or security in this Nation, but in the successe of this present businesse ; Its true, there are great unavoidable difficulties propound themselves on every side, but let us do our duty and wait on God, even the *God of our salvation, who may answer us by terrible things in his righteousness which we looked not for.* God hath put us to many a losse, that we might have opportunity of seeking and finding him. *His way is in the sea, and his paths in the great waters, his footsteps are not known.* Yet he led and will still lead on his people toward a land flowing with *Milk and Honey*, the sincere *Milk of Truth*, and the sweet *Honey of Peace*.

FINIS.



Whatsoever errors have escaped the Authour or Printer, as the commission of them speaks a man, so let the pardon shew a good man. I meant *Plaine English*, its like he meant true.

Veniam pro laude.—